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A FRAGMENT OF A GOLD APPLIQUÉ FROM ZIWIYE AND SOME REMARKS ON THE ARTISTIC TRADITIONS OF ARMENIA AND IRAN DURING THE EARLY FIRST MILLENNIUM B.C.

HELENE J. KANTOR

THE Oriental Institute Museum has received as the valued gift of Mrs. Edwin A. Seipp a portion of a gold appliqué from Ziwiye, a mound of ruins in western Iran southeast of Lake Urumia (Fig. 1). In 1947 the inhabitants of the adjacent village accidentally found in the mound a fantastic treasure trove, a large bath-shaped bronze coffin filled with gold and silver ornaments and ivory carvings. The villagers, not realizing the value of their finds as antiquities, cut up the golden ornaments in order to facilitate division of their spoil, and it is one of these pieces which the Oriental Institute now possesses. Since the first great discovery, there have been licensed commercial excavations at Ziwiye. Objects from it are widely dispersed in museums and private collections. They constitute one of the most important archeological discoveries of the present century, one which opens wide new aspects of the cultural development of the Armenian and Iranian highlands in the

late eighth and seventh centuries B.C. Although no written evidence for chronology has been found at Ziwiye itself, this date for the finds has been established by means of comparisons with Assyrian art, while much of what is known about the history of the Ziwiye area at this time comes from Assyrian royal inscriptions.¹

Her mountainous northeastern border was a critical area for Assyria. To protect their territory and to draw needed supplies from the highlands, Assyrian kings used both war and diplomacy, making alliances with some groups while fighting others. An important rival was the kingdom of Urartu

¹ A. Godard, *Le trésor de Ziwiye* (Haarlem, 1950) (henceforth abbreviated as Godard). R. Ghirshman, "Le trésor de Sakkez," *Artibus Asiae*, XIII (1950), 181-206. Godard, "A propos du trésor de Ziwiye," *Artibus Asiae*, XIII, 240-45. R. D. Barnett, "The Treasure of Ziwiye," *Iraq*, XVIII (1956), 111-16. For description of the site cf. *University Museum Bulletin*, XXI (1957), 33, 36-37. For the history and culture of the period cf. G. G. Cameron, *History of Early Iran* (Chicago, 1936); A. Goetze, *Kleinasiens* (München, 1957) pp. 187-200; and Ghirshman's review of I. M. Diakonov, *Istoria Midii* (Moscow, 1956) in *Bibliotheca orientalis*, XV (1958), 257-61.

PLATE I



A. OBVERSE



B. REVERSE

FRAGMENT OF GOLD APPLIQUÉ FROM ZIWIYE; A 30796. SCALE 1:1. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MRS. URSULA W. SCHNEIDER.)

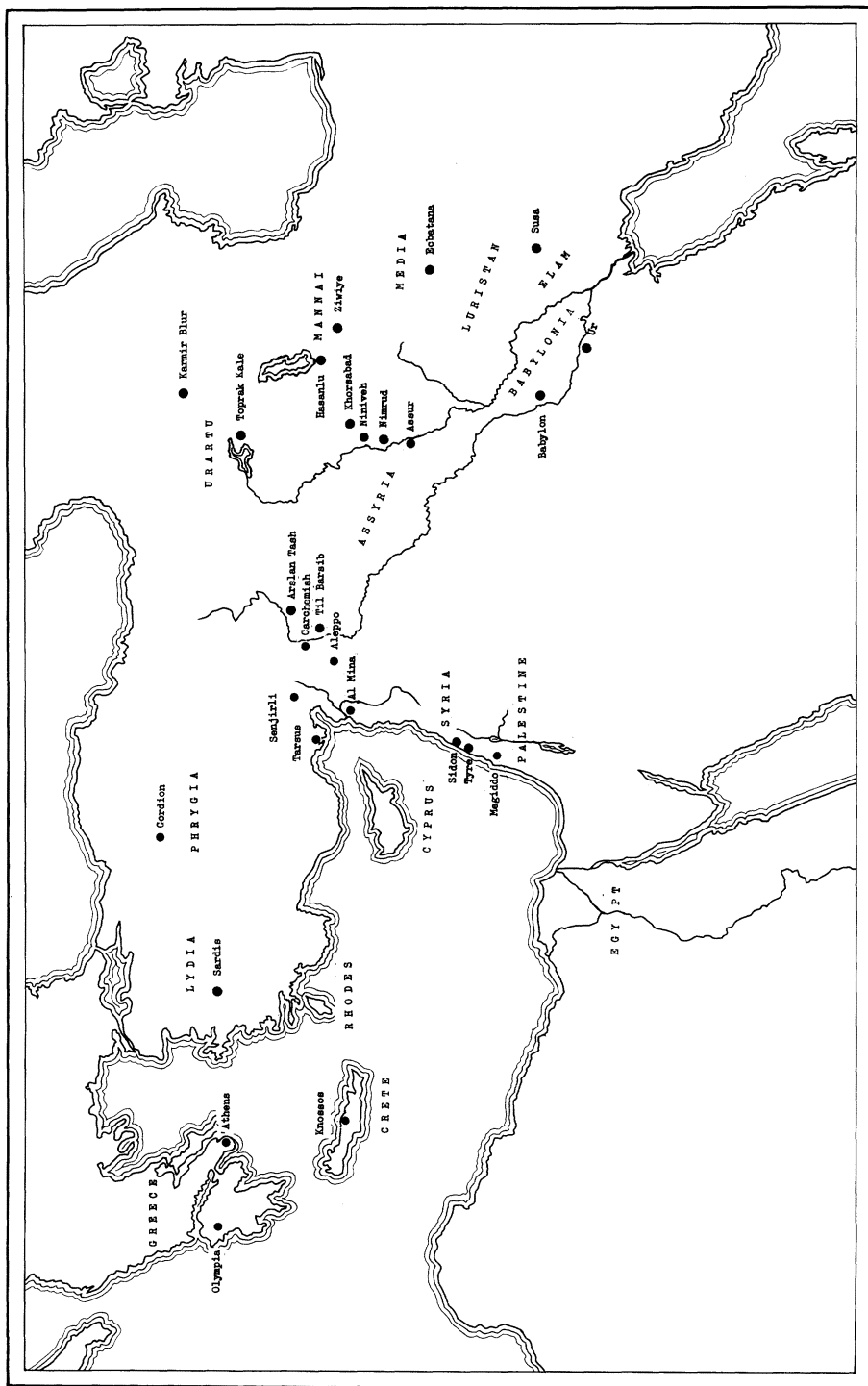


FIG. 1.—Sketch map of the Near East in the early First Millennium B.C.

centered around Lake Van, which often posed a serious threat to Assyria. The Mannaeen region located southeast of Urtu in modern Kurdistan was a frequent area of conflict, at times exposed to Urtian invasion or forming a client kingdom or province of Assyria. Although the Mannaeen region receives its name from its long-established Mannaeen inhabitants, its population was by no means homogeneous. Iranian nomads were penetrating into Iran by the end of the second millennium B.C.; Medes were mixed with the Mannaeen population by the ninth century B.C. During the seventh century the Median kingdom with its capital at Ecbatana, modern Hamadan, was developing, while Persian tribes were locating themselves further to the southeast. Other closely related Iranians invaded the Near East during the seventh century. Important for the Ziwiye materials are those groups of Scythians who, from about 650–625 B.C. controlled both the Mannaeen and Median kingdoms. Ziwiye itself is located in the Mannaeen area and most probably corresponds to the Mannaeen fortress of Izibie or Uzbis sacked by Sargon in 716 B.C. and by Ashurbanipal about 665 B.C.² It lay in a border area where the interests of many groups met and clashed. There, too, was a mingling place of different cultures, but only recently has enough material accumulated to make it possible to begin to define the artistic traditions of the highlands during the early first millennium B.C. and to trace their interaction with one another and with the central tradition of Mesopotamia.

THE OBJECT

The Oriental Institute fragment, A 30796 (Pl. I), was part of a larger appliqué panel decorated in repoussé. The designs made by hammering the thin sheet of gold over

dies were completed by chasing small details on the obverse. Most of the details are as clear or even clearer on the underside than on the front, particularly as in modern times the piece has been straightened and hammered flat. This has obliterated from the obverse some lines still visible on the reverse and has also flattened the figures so that they no longer stand out from the background as do the motives on a number of other Ziwiye pieces decorated in the same style. These are a semicircular pectoral now in the Teheran Museum and fragments of plaques with relatively straight sides in the Teheran, Metropolitan, Cincinnati, and Royal Ontario museums.³ The latter have been acutely discussed by Winifred Needler, who has demonstrated that they are parts of a pair of trapezoidal plaques used as decorative appliques. By taking into consideration whether the left or right edges of the fragments are straight, the alignment of the axes of the plants, and other features, Miss Needler was able to place the various known sections as indicated in Figs. 2–3. These corroborate also the correctness of her assumption that the complete plaques had six registers, the fourth from the top being missing in each, except for a tiny portion in Teheran.⁴

The Oriental Institute fragment is clearly not a part of the curving, tapering registers of a pectoral, but resembles more the horizontal registers of the trapezoidal plaques, being of the same height, 3.3 cm. Accordingly, the question arises whether it fills the gap in either one. They, though markedly homogeneous, do show some

³ Godard, pp. 20–35, Figs. 10, 13, 15, 16–18, 20–25. *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (BMA)*, XIII (1955), 217. *The Cincinnati Art Museum Bulletin*, V (1957), 11, Fig. 3. *Royal Ontario Museum Bulletin*, No. 25 (June, 1957), Pl. 3, A (= Hirshhorn segment on loan). I am indebted to Miss Needler for a photograph (unpublished) of the Ontario fragment.

⁴ *Royal Ontario Museum Bulletin*, No. 25, pp. 9–10.

² Godard, p. 5. *Iraq*, XVIII, 111–12.

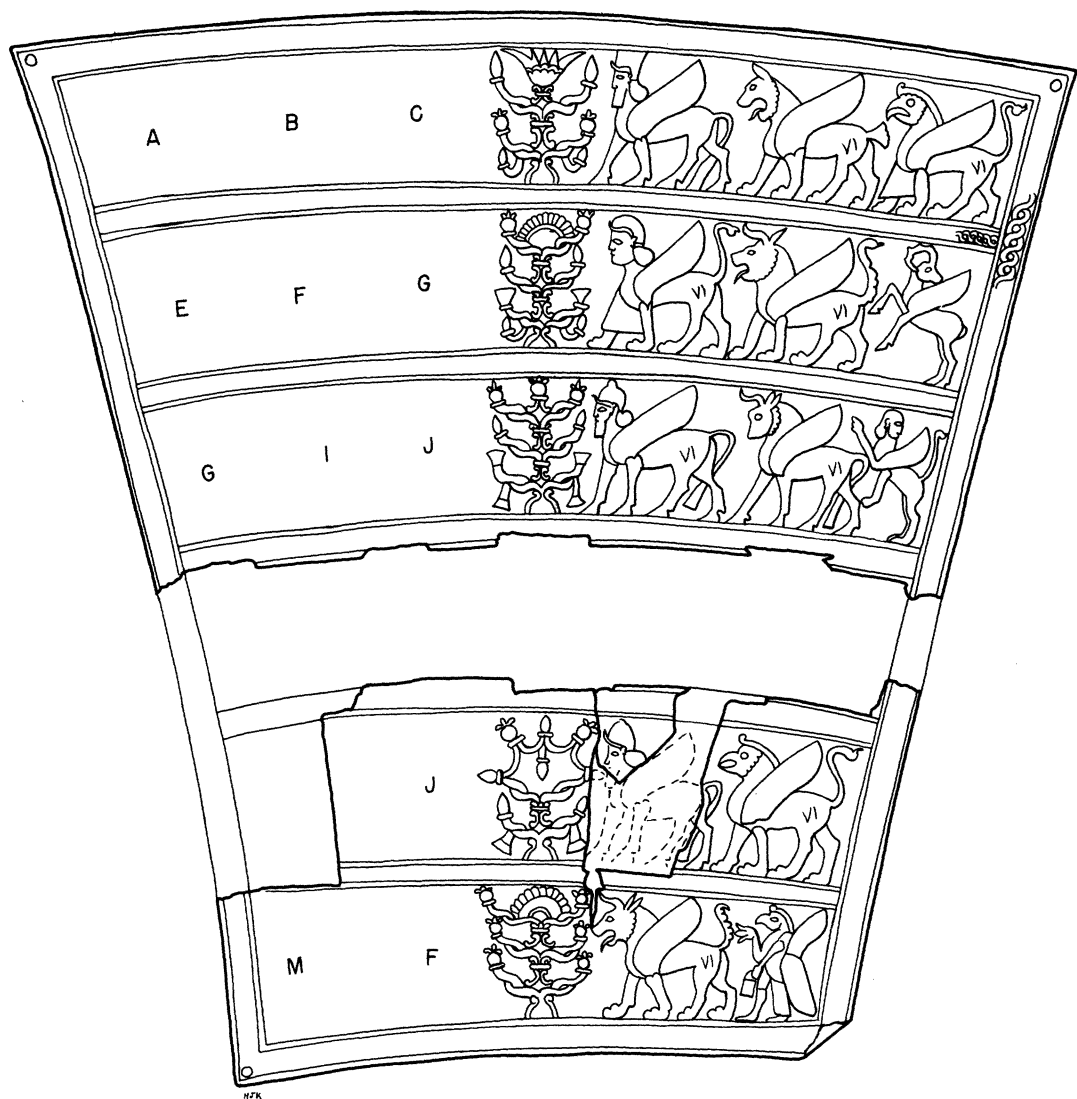


FIG. 2.—Plaque I (Metropolitan and Teheran segments). Scale 1:2

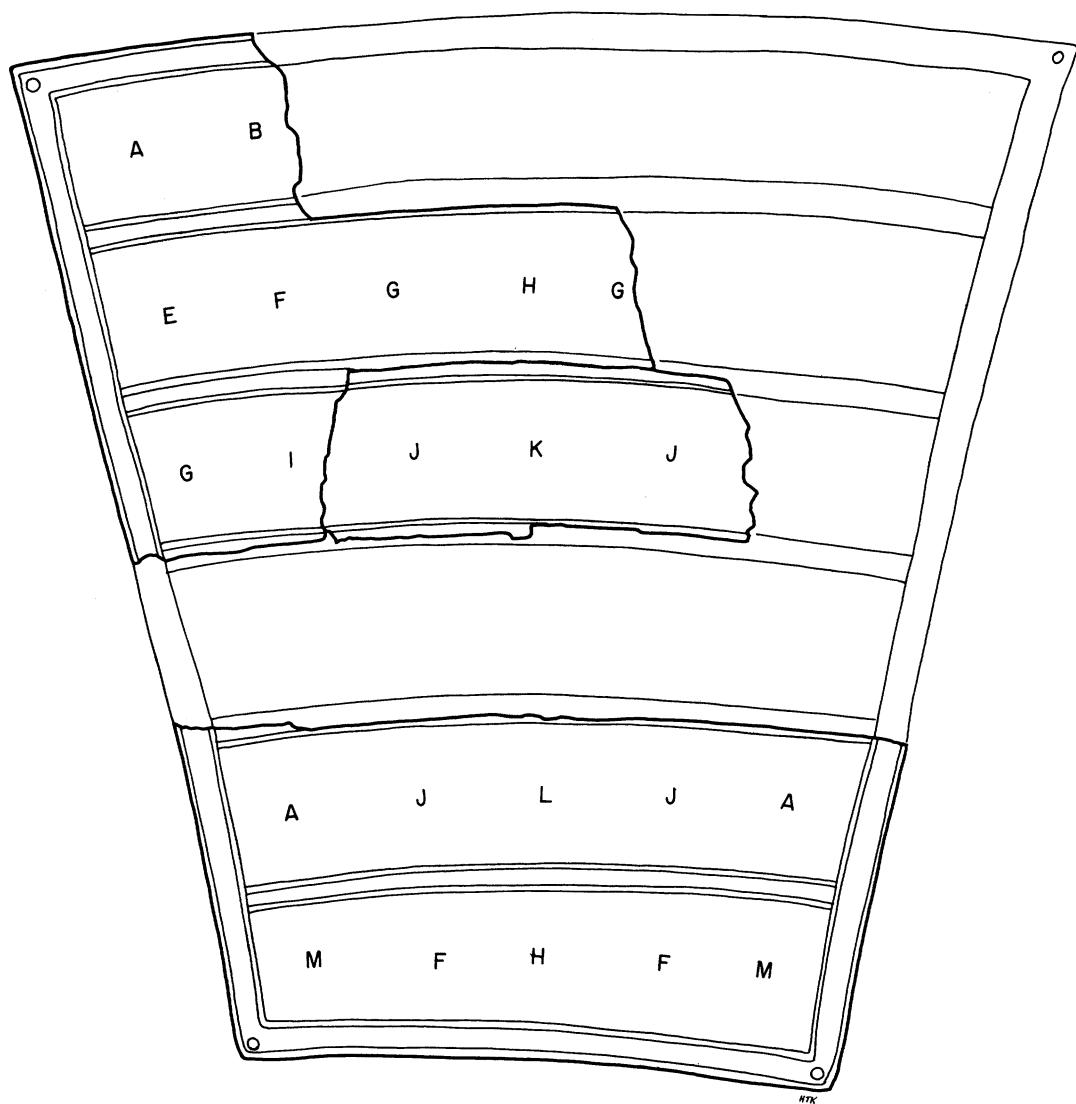


FIG. 3.—Plaque II (Cincinnati, Royal Ontario, and Hirshhorn segments). Scale 1 : 2

consistent divergencies in the minor, incised details. Thus, in Plaque I lions have plain tongues, genitalia are absent on all the animals, the hatching around the edges of hindquarters has an inner border, and the pomegranates have rounded tips. In contrast, in Plaque II the lions have pinnate tongues, genitalia are indicated, the hatching of hindquarters has no inner border, and pomegranates have pointed tips. Since A 30796 shares the latter three characteristics, it must, if it belongs at all to this pair of objects, be part of Plaque II. Furthermore, the circumstance that there is a clean cut behind the griffin indicates that the fragment could not have been part of the top three registers or of the bottom one, where overlapping and vertical figures are skilfully used to fill the space available. Our fragment could only have come from a lower register just wide enough for two quadrupeds on each side.

However, there are a number of details proving that, after all, the Oriental Institute piece is not part of the missing fourth register of Plaque II. First, there is no physical join; the guilloche border exists both at the top of the Oriental Institute piece and the lower parts of the Cincinnati and Toronto ones. Secondly, if our piece were inserted, we would have two identical griffins immediately above one another in the fourth and fifth registers from the top, which would clash with the rhythmic alternation of creatures in the scheme of composition of the plaques. Nowhere are identical creatures immediately adjacent to one another, either horizontally or vertically. The human-headed bulls are no real exception for they are alternately casque or turret crowned, thus counting as separate types. Likewise the winged lions of the two top registers are differentiated by their ostrich or scorpion tails and by the absence or presence of a horn.

Since it does not fit into the known pair of trapezoidal plaques, can we assume that the Oriental Institute fragment comes from the fourth or fifth register of still another trapezoidal plaque of which so far no other parts are known and which had a slightly different scheme of composition than that of Figs. 2-3? Fortunately there is clear evidence to disprove this hypothesis, already dubious because of the considerable coincidence that it involves. (1) The panel and borders of A 30796 are straighter than those of the trapezoidal plaques, which can hardly all be the result of the modern straightening of the piece. (2) The top appears to be the original edge and the guilloche border there is large, being of the same width as the outer borders of the trapezoidal plaques. Furthermore, enough remains of the lower guilloche border of A 30796 to show that it was the same size as the upper one. (3) Our plaque is also distinct from the trapezoidal ones in some individual details; its animals have no triangular incisions on their hindquarters; its griffins have no crest, wear a chignon instead of a curl on their foreheads, and have manes of dotted circles rather than of scale pattern; the lower ribbons of its plants end in curls, instead of being plain. Accordingly, it is clear that A 30796 could not have come from a trapezoidal plaque, but rather must have been part of a guilloche-bordered panel, perhaps a horizontal one with only a single register of figures.

THE DECORATION

Both the motives and many of the details of the decoration of A 30796 are derived from Assyrian art. The "sacred tree" flanked by animals is a normal Assyrian motive.⁵ Griffins, though not as common as griffin-demons, are perfectly

⁵ A. H. Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, First Series (London, 1853), Pls. 45, 3; 50, 6.

well known in Late Assyrian art,⁶ while the human-headed winged bull wearing a turret crown, the colossal guardian of palace gateways, is one of the most familiar of Assyrian creatures.⁷ Un-Assyrian, on the other hand, is the clothlike kilt of the griffin, which, like those of the sphinxes on the related Ziwiye objects, copies the kilts normal for Phoenician sphinxes; these in turn can be traced back ultimately to the lengthened mane that hangs down in front of the forelegs of some Egyptian lions of the New Kingdom.⁸ A much less widespread feature is the bird-headed tip of the griffin's tail, which recurs on the griffins and sphinxes of the trapezoidal plaques and apparently also on the griffin of the Ziwiye pectoral.⁹ Outside of Ziwiye this feature is found in North Syrian orthostats and small objects¹⁰ and on a bone comb from Gordion.¹¹ Despite its general Assyrian cast, some details of A 30796 are connected with the arts of Syria and Anatolia.

The "tree" of our plaque is at first glance quite Assyrian, but a second brings out aberrant elements. In Assyria a water-lily flower, though common enough in decorative patterns, never crowns an elaborate plant motive. Moreover, Assyrian "sacred trees" always have a vertical trunk, frequently interrupted at intervals by clamplike elements (Fig. 4).¹² Here

there is no trunk, only three pairs of clamped ribbons from which spring others tipped with cones and pomegranates. Its plant connects A 30796 with works found in Scythian and Urartian contexts and forming a mixed group within which Scythian craftsmanship cannot always be distinguished from oriental. On a sword from the Melgunov barrow in southern Russia¹³ and appliqués from Zakim in the Caucasus (Fig. 5) and Ani Pemza in Armenia¹⁴ ribbon-trees comparable to that of our plaque occur together with a diaper pattern formed by the same kind of ribbon. The intimate relationship between the two types of designs is clear; the ribbon trees can even be considered as vertically arranged segments of diaper network; such disjointed segments occur on the Ani Pemza appliqué.

The ribbon-trees and diaper patterns of Urartian-Scythian works form an inextricably entangled series of designs with twin roots. The rapport patterns seem to have an even older Mesopotamian genealogy than the vertical ribbon-trees dependent upon Assyrian formal plant motives. Probably it is a mere accident of preservation that no Late Assyrian diaper patterns are known. If, however, the motive was actually not used by Late Assyrian craftsmen, it could have reached Urartu and the Scyths by way of Phoenician art, where it is exemplified on ivories and a bronze bowl.¹⁵ Such patterns continue designs already used in Palestine and Syria in the second millennium B.C. A thirteenth century ivory found at Megiddo is, despite its provenience, Assyrian in its main

⁶ *Ibid.*, Pls. 8; 43, 7; 46, 2. E. Porada and B. Buchanan, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections*, Vol. I: *The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library*, Pl. XCI, 628.

⁷ H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Harmondsworth, 1954), Pl. 77.

⁸ Godard, p. 30. E. Schweitzer, *Löwe und Sphinx im alten Ägypten* (Glückstadt, 1948), Pls. VI, 3, 4; XII, 1. An excellent example also occurs on a golden harness ornament from the tomb of Tutankhamun.

⁹ Godard, p. 31, Fig. 21.

¹⁰ Cf. the examples collected by A. Dessene, *Le Sphinx* (Paris, 1957), p. 205, notes 2, 3.

¹¹ *American Journal of Archaeology (AJA)*, Vol. LX (1956), Pl. 86, Figs. 23, 24.

¹² Layard, *op. cit.*, Pl. 7A (Nimrud, Northwest Palace; Assurnasirpal II).

¹³ E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks* (Cambridge, 1913), pp. 171-72, Figs. 65-68.

¹⁴ B. B. Piotrovskii, *Istoriya i Kultura Urartu* (Erivan, 1944), Figs. 95, 96.

¹⁵ *Iraq*, Vol. XIII (1951), Pl. X, 2. J. W. and G. M. Crowfoot, *Early Ivories from Samaria* (London, 1938), Pl. XXI, 5. Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, Second Series (London, 1853), Pl. LXII, A.

decoration.¹⁶ Its ribbons with binding and corner-filling vegetal elements are paralleled on Middle Assyrian murals and light-painted pottery.¹⁷ Moreover, the diaper itself reappears on the "Atchana ware" of the north Syrian coast, which, like the light-painted Assyrian ware, was a later development of Mitannian pottery.¹⁸ Thus it appears that diaper motives with plant junctures must have been well known to artists of the Middle Assyrian period. In fact, such designs may go back even earlier. The apparently meaningless, decorative diaper motive may well have originated in designs formed by an attribute of Mesopotamian water-gods, the vase with two streams of flowing water. At the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur diaper patterns formed by streams of water with vases at the junctures appear on the lower parts of a stela from Tello¹⁹ and on a stela fragment in the British Museum.²⁰ Analogous flowing-vase patterns surround the figure of Ea and adorn his throne on a cylinder seal of Gudea²¹ or link the figures sculptured on a votive basin of Gudea.²² Later, in Kassite art, interlocking patterns of flowing vases occur²³ and this brings us to

¹⁶ G. Loud, *The Megiddo Ivories* (Chicago, 1939), Pl. 20, 123. This and another closely related ivory from Megiddo (*ibid.*, Pl. 21, 124) cannot be considered as Assyrian imports since they have foliate borders of Aegean character and inlaid beads as on Canaanite female figures from the same hoard. Apparently these two ivories are careful Canaanite imitations of Assyrian motives.

¹⁷ W. Andrae, *Farbige Keramik aus Assur* (Berlin, 1922), Pls. 2; 4, g, k. *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, Vol. VIII (1937), Pl. VII, 101. For Middle Assyrian cones cf. H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (London, 1939), Pl. XXXII, b.

¹⁸ L. Woolley, *Alalakh* (Oxford, 1955), Pls. CII, a; CIII, a.

¹⁹ Gaston Cros, *Nouvelles Fouilles de Tello* (Paris, 1910-1914), Pl. VIII, Fig. 2.

²⁰ G. Contenau, *Manuel d'archéologie orientale*, II (Paris, 1931), 740, Fig. 521.

²¹ Frankfort, *op. cit.*, p. 143, Fig. 37.

²² E. Unger, *Die Wiederherstellung des Weihbeckens des Gudea von Lagasch* (Istanbul, 1931), Pls. I, II, IV.

²³ *Archiv für Orientforschung*, XVIII (1957-1958), 269, Fig. 20; 273, Fig. 27.

the period when the decorative diaper motives appear.

In following the ramification of the diaper motive back into the second millennium B.C., we have wandered far from the ribbon-tree of our plaque. The excursus is useful, however, for it shows that, although the immediate parallels for the motive occur in Urartian and Scythian contexts, the whole complex of ornament involved can be traced back to the main stream of Mesopotamian art.

ARTISTIC TRADITIONS OF THE EARLIER FIRST MILLENNIUM B.C. IN THE HIGHLANDS

Despite the small size of the Oriental Institute fragment, its motives are sufficient to demonstrate the characteristic features of the prominent class of Ziwiye gold work to which it belongs. As a whole this class is Assyrian in subject matter and in many details of representation. However, mixed with Assyrian features are western ones such as the bird-headed tails and the kilts of some of the monsters.

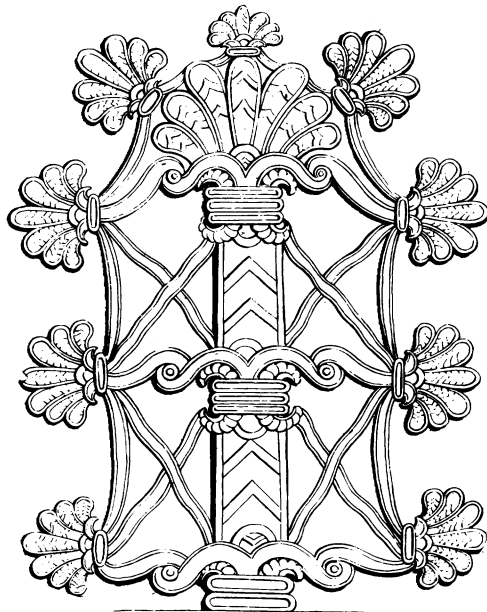


FIG. 4.—Assyrian "sacred tree" from relief in the palace of Assurnasirpal II at Nimrud

Furthermore, there are connections with Scythian art. These are not limited merely to the plant and diaper designs represented by the "tree" of A 30796, but also include the crouching animals in the specific Scythian style which occur on the Ziwiye pectoral.²⁴

The presence of western and Scythian connections differentiate this group of Ziwiye materials from the more purely Assyrianizing one represented by the majority of the ivory carvings and some gold plaques.²⁵ In fact many of the ivories are so Assyrian in character that they have been considered imported works. In any case most of the Ziwiye ivories and the metal work associable with them are more faithful to Assyrian canons than the more mixed Assyrianizing group of which the Oriental Institute appliqué is a representative.

In addition to the "mixed" and "pure" Assyrianizing groups, there are at least two other classes of decorated objects from Ziwiye. One includes coarse and clearly

local works. The other is Scythian in character.²⁶ Of these four classes, only the last is indisputably correlated with a particular historical group. Although there exist complex ethnic problems as to the identity and relationships of the individual Scythian and other Iranian tribes who invaded western Asia, there is no difficulty in recognizing the Scythian animal style, whose origins lie outside the Near East. The problem as to the identity of the makers of the other groups of Ziwiye materials has been variously answered. In his publication of the treasure Godard considered the ivories Assyrian and the rest of the material Mannaeans; he went on to suggest that this Mannaeans art was adopted by the Scythians and has thereby become known to the modern world as Scythian. This view is opposed by Barnett, who distinguishes at Ziwiye the local art of the Mannaeans, which has no resemblance to Scythian art,²⁷ and that of the Urartians. He points out that the gable-headed lions of a Ziwiye armlet correspond to

²⁴ Godard, p. 27, Fig. 17; p. 33, Fig. 23; p. 34, Fig. 24.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 78-102, Figs. 66-87. *BMM A*, X (1952), 233-34, 236; XIII (1955), 216; XV (1956), 77. L. Vanden Berghe, *Archéologie de l'Iran ancien* (Leiden, 1959), Pl. 141, e.

²⁶ Godard, p. 49, Fig. 39; pp. 54-55, Figs. 44, 45; p. 57, Fig. 48. *University Museum Bulletin*, XXI (1957), 34-35, Figs. 25; 26, top and left.

²⁷ *Iraq*, XVIII (1956), 114. He compares the ivory of Godard, p. 105, Fig. 91, with the Loewenheim bowl (*Iraq*, Vol. XVIII, Pls. XVIII-XX).

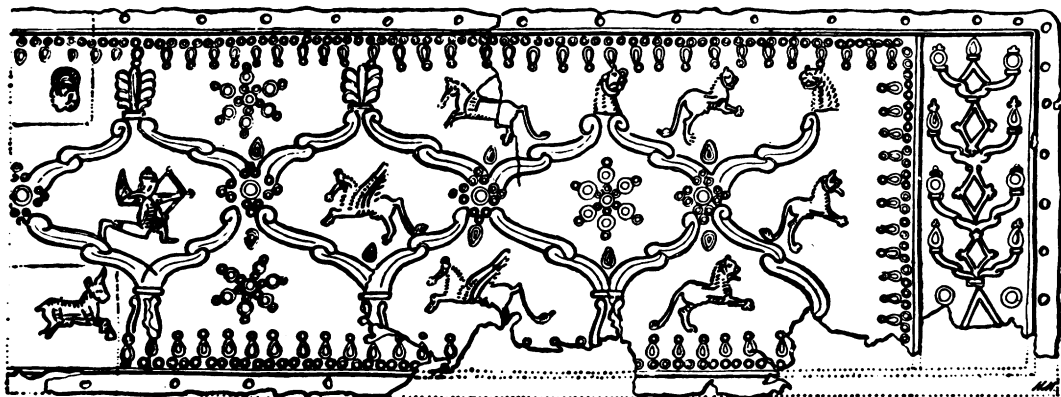


FIG. 5.—Appliqué from Zakim (*Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, Vol. XIII [Berlin, 1929], Pl. 34 B, a)

gable-headed lions typical for Urartu.²⁸ For Ghirshman the Ziwiye treasure is the tomb of a Scythian prince, buried according to Scythian rites; in it Assyrian products are outnumbered by those of Urartu and above all by those which the Scythian prince had ordered for himself and which contain elements of Scythian iconography not practiced in the art of western Asia.²⁹

What, then, is the most fitting term for the class of Assyrianizing gold work represented by the Oriental Institute fragment? Is it Mannaeian, Urartian, or an orientalizing Scythian work? This question cannot be answered without detailed consideration of the Ziwiye and related materials. Although this cannot be undertaken here, some of the factors involved in the identification of our plaque and its compeers may be briefly noted.

Though the term Mannaeian has seemed very apt for the Ziwiye materials, it is now made much less so by objects found in 1958 at Hasanlu. That site some eighty miles to the northwest (Fig. 1) has an occupation level contemporary with Ziwiye as well as an older, ninth century settlement violently destroyed by fire. Its excavator, Dyson, suggests that this destruction was caused by an Urartian invasion and sack of the city.³⁰ The ninth century level has yielded a number of elaborately decorated objects. The only one as yet published in any detail is a gold bowl decorated in repoussé in a distinctive style, which is noteworthy unaffected by Assyrian art although Assyrian influence is manifest in a glazed clay tile found in the same stratum.³¹ If we assume that the bowl is contemporary with or not far

removed in time from the period of the stratum in which it was found and that it was used in a Mannaeian city not yet attacked by Urartians, we can then hardly avoid taking it as an outstanding example of Mannaeian art. Furthermore, elements such as the physiognomy of the human faces, the rendering of seated figures, and the patterning of animal bodies can serve to link the Hasanlu bowl with some objects classified as Luristan, thus beginning the definition of a group contrasting in style with the Urartian materials cited below and the Assyrianizing Ziwiye works. The contrast may even hold true when Assyrianizing elements occur in the "Mannaeian" group.³² Accordingly, it looks as if the term Mannaeian should be reserved for the new style whose definition will probably be made possible by the finds from Hasanlu.³³

The point raised by Barnett and Ghirshman as to the Urartian share in the Ziwiye objects is an important one. The culture of Urartu was strongly influenced by that of its Assyrian rival, as witnessed, for example, by the adoption of the Assyrian script for Urartian inscriptions. A number of works of art can be identified as Urartian, either because they have been found in the Lake Van area or are identified by inscriptions of Urartian kings, being presumably made by Urartians rather than foreign booty. The types of materials

³² Compare a belt appliqué rather different from normal Luristan work (*Syria*, Vol. XV [1934], Pl. XXV = A. U. Pope, ed., *A Survey of Persian Art* [London, 1958], Vol. IV, Pl. 56, A) with some Luristan cups (*ibid.*, Pls. 71, A, B; 72). The Hasanlu bowl may well serve as a rallying point for previously isolated works and different chronological stages in the "Mannaeian" tradition may become distinguishable, with the appearance of some Assyrian influence being a feature of various of the later pieces.

³³ This is not intended to suggest that the majority of Luristan works fall within the "Mannaeian" category. Undoubtedly it will become increasingly possible to distinguish various local Iranian styles. Cf. Ghirshman's remark concerning the identity of the makers of the Luristan bronzes in *Bibliotheca orientalis*, XV, 259.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

²⁹ *Bibliotheca orientalis*, XV (1958), 259.

³⁰ *Expedition (Bulletin of the University Museum)*, I (1959), 9-11, 14, 17.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-22 (bowl); p. 14 (tile).

so far known can be summarized as follows:³⁴

Large-scale reliefs. Only a limited number have been recorded, the best known being the bulls from Adelyevas and Toprak Kale and considerable portions of a relief from Adilcevaz showing plants flanked by two gods mounted on bulls.³⁵

Metal work in the round. In addition to a few individual statues or statuettes, there are a number of figures whose locations on an elaborate throne and stool have been reconstructed by Barnett.³⁶ Urartu was also a center for the manufacture of metal vessels and tripods, including elaborate figurative handle attachments for cauldrons; such attachments were widely exported and some of the finest, such as those from Gordion, have been found outside Urartu.³⁷

Metal objects decorated in relief or by incision. In addition to some fragmentary bronze friezes, there exist objects such as shields, helmets, and quivers.³⁸

Ivory carvings and glyptic. So far very few examples are known. Some fine ivories were found at Toprak Kale and isolated examples of stamp and cylinder seals are known.³⁹

³⁴ A great deal of material is collected by Barnett, in "The Excavations of the British Museum at Toprak Kale near Van," *Iraq*, XII (1950), 1-43.

³⁵ For list of Urartian reliefs and the publication of the Adilcevaz slabs cf. C. A. Burney and C. R. J. Lawson in *Anatolian Studies*, VIII (1958), 211-17; Pl. XXXIII.

³⁶ *Iraq*, XII, 43, Fig. 22; Pls. VI, VII, XI, XVIII, XIX, XXI.

³⁷ Cf. Barnett and Gökee, *Anatolian Studies*, III (1953), 121-29; Hanfmann, *ibid.*, VI (1956), 205-13; Amandry, in *The Aegean and the Near East* (Locust Valley, N.Y., 1956), pp. 239-61; Young, *AJA*, Vol. LXII (1958), Pl. 26, Figs. 16, 17.

³⁸ *Iraq*, Vol. XII, Pls. I, VIII (friezes); IX, X, 1 (Rusas III shield). B. B. Piotrovskii, *L'Orient ancien illustré*, No. 8 (Paris, 1954), p. 39, Fig. 5; pp. 50-55, Figs. 10-13 (objects from Karmir Blur) and *Karmir Blur* III ("Arkheologicheskie raskopi v Armenii," No. 5, Erivan, 1955), pp. 28-30, Figs. 17-20, Pls. I, X-XIII (Argistis I, Sarduris II shields), Pl. XV (fragment of golden appliqué in form of lion).

³⁹ *Iraq*, Vol. XII, Pls. XII-XV (ivories). H. Th.

These materials range in date from the ninth to the end of the seventh centuries B.C. and indicate some general features of Urartian art. As a whole it is strongly Assyrianizing. For example the trees and attendants on the helmets from Karmir Blur are slightly simplified renderings of Assyrian motives. Among the ivories there are Assyrian details of costume or of style. The iconography of the Adilcevaz relief is overwhelmingly Assyrian; the gods on bulls are directly taken from Assyrian renderings of Adad on his bull, where there is a parallel even for the stance of the gods' right foot upon the bulls' heads.⁴⁰ On the other hand, Urartian works display various distinguishing features of their own. In Assyria one would not expect the figure of a major deity such as Adad to be repeated twice and placed amid plants, perhaps even in attendance upon them. The remarkable snake motive on the Karmir Blur helmets seems to have no parallel in Assyria, and the Urartians may have had a particular liking for highly fantastic monsters. It is not only in iconography that we can expect Urartian individuality to become manifest. In the more elaborate of Urartian works there seems to have been a marked tendency toward the refinement and ornamentation of details. There is predilection for ornamental details in the rendering of animals, which in the Adilcevaz relief is accompanied by minutely rendered geometric and vegetal textile patterns. Not all Urartian works share these tendencies, however. There was a considerable range from minutely executed bronze figures and stone reliefs to pieces such as the shield of

Bossert. *Altanatolien* (Berlin, 1942), Fig. 1197 (cylinder seal).

⁴⁰ F. Thureau-Dangin *et al.*, *Arslan Tash* (Paris, 1931), Pl. II, 1. For a Late Hittite example imitating an Assyrian prototype cf. Thureau-Dangin and M. Dunand, *Til-Barsib* (Paris, 1936), Pl. III. This was a standard Mesopotamian rendering of Adad, being already common as early as the Old Babylonian period (e.g. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, Pl. XXVII, j)

Rusas III with roughly incised animal friezes.⁴¹

When we turn to comparisons between Urartian work and the finds at Ziwiyé, it is immediately apparent that there is almost no overlapping in category between the two groups.⁴² On the one hand is a large series of small objects made from sumptuous materials, but the Urartian side has yielded practically no decorated gold and silver objects.⁴³ This disparity is probably merely an accident of discovery. As Barnett has pointed out, Urartian bronze figures of a man and a female sphinx show them wearing pectorals of the same type as that discovered at Ziwiyé.⁴⁴ In addition, there are several general correspondences between Urartian art and the finds at Ziwiyé.

In the first place, their markedly Assyrianizing character allies both Urartian and Ziwiyé materials, contrasting them with our presumed Mannaean group and with Luristan work. The objects from Ziwiyé, although found in the Mannaean area, represent for the most part a break with local traditions.

A second link between Urartu and Ziwiyé can be sought in the animal style. On both sides the rendering of animals is based on Assyrian prototypes; both display analogous tendencies to translate the plastic and even to some extent organically realistic treatment of animal bodies charac-

teristic for Assyria into formalized pattern. There is a pronounced difference between many animals of Ziwiyé and Urartu, with their ornamentalized details, and those of typical Assyrian works.⁴⁵ In no case do we have exactly the same total body patterning on both an animal from Ziwiyé and one from Urartu, but nonetheless the geometrized rendering of animal bodies may turn out to be a link between Urartian art and various of the Ziwiyé ivories and gold plaques.

A third important consideration is the appearance of western connections in both the mixed Assyrianizing works at Ziwiyé and in Urartian art. In Urartu, for example, the whole organization of the Assur and siren handle-attachments—the erect projecting head, outspread wings and tail—is the same as that of the Phoenician tridacna shells.⁴⁶ The importance of Urartu's western connections is clear. For a time in the earlier eighth century B.C. she even cut off Assyria's lines of communication with the west. One of the principal carriers of oriental influence to

⁴¹ Cf. Barnett's discussion of Urartian art and its development in *Iraq*, XII, 37–39.

⁴² The ivories are an exception. Even here the figures in the round and the *à jour* plaques in high relief from Toprak Kale do not provide any close comparisons with the Ziwiyé ivory relief plaques. There appear to be a few ivory figures in the round from Ziwiyé, however (Godard, p. 103, Fig. 88; *Guide to the Collections of the Cincinnati Art Museum* [no date], p. 20), but they are not immediately similar to those from Toprak Kale.

⁴³ Cf. the golden pendant with an enthroned woman from Toprak Kale (*Iraq* XII, 29, Fig. 18) and roughly decorated silver ones, Piotrovskii, *Karmir-Blur* III, pp. 11, 18, Figs. 5, 11.

⁴⁴ *Iraq*, XVIII (1956), 113.

⁴⁵ Compare for example the lions of the Ziwiyé ivories with hunting scenes and that on an Assyrian ivory in the British Museum (R. D. Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories in the British Museum* [London, 1957], Pl. CXVIII, V 9). There is some question, however, whether the ornamentalized treatment of animal bodies developed only in the Assyrianizing arts of neighboring areas or already began in Assyria itself. This is a problem too complicated to enter upon here. We probably do not yet know the full range of Assyrian art, including all the variations in the rendering of animals. The bulls in paintings from Til Barsib (Thureau-Dangin and Dunand, *op. cit.*, Pl. XLVIII) and goats on a coffin from Ur now in Birmingham (*Iraq*, Vol. XVIII, Pl. XVI; its date is under debate, but in any case its decoration is Assyrian in style and provides parallels for the decoration of the Ziwiyé coffin) illustrate the considerable degree of decorative patterning possible in Assyrian art, but this does not extend nearly as far as that in the Ziwiyé or Urartian works. Very important for this problem is an Assyrian ivory panel just published in *B.M.A.* XVIII (1959), 32; on it the body of a goat has details identical with those of goats on some of the most Assyrian of the Ziwiyé ivories.

⁴⁶ E.g., *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, XLV (1939), 89, Figs. 1, 2; Pl. X.

Greece was Urartian bronzework, traveling through Syrian ports such as al Mina or by way of western or Black Sea ports.⁴⁷ The connections of Urartu with the west provide an avenue through which the griffins and sphinxes of Ziwiyé could have easily obtained their kilts and bird-headed tails.

A fourth feature linking Urartian art with that of Ziwiyé is the relationship to Scythian art, as we have already seen in discussing the ribbon-tree of the Oriental Institute fragment. The existence of a Scythian group of objects at Ziwiyé has also been mentioned. A difficult question of interpretation arises when a motive of typical character, such as the crouching animals of the Ziwiyé pectoral, occur in an object of otherwise different style. Is it possible that Scythian artists so well absorbed Assyrianizing traditions of art that they were able to produce the mixed Assyrianizing group of Ziwiyé? Or were Asiatics able to imitate closely motives of nomad art? This problem may be a rather academic one in view of the complexity of actual life, in which both cultures and individual human beings become very much mixed. It is noteworthy however that, aside from the Ziwiyé pectoral, the only other objects with a mixture of Scythian and oriental representational motives seem to be the sword sheath from the Melgunov barrow and an ax from Kelermes in the Kuban.⁴⁸ In the case of the ax the decoration consists chiefly of Scythian crouching animals; only the motive of goats flanking a tree is oriental. On the sword sheath most of the motives—robed men flanking trees, a file of monsters—are oriental, while in style they are markedly close to Urartian work.

⁴⁷ T. J. Dunbabin, *The Greeks and Their Eastern Neighbours* (London, 1957), pp. 42–43, 67. Barnett in *The Aegean and the Near East*, pp. 227 ff.

⁴⁸ M. I. Rostovtseff, *The Animal Style in Southern Russia and China* (London, 1929), Pls. III; IV, 4, 5.

The bodies of the monsters are elaborately patterned with curls of hair and geometric forms; the men are simplified renderings of an Assyrian motive similar to that on the Karmir Blur helmets; trees both on the Melgunov sheath and on the ax are closely related to the pointed plants of the Adilcevaz relief. These similarities to Urartian works are almost enough to suggest that the accepted view, according to which the akinakes and its sheath are Scythian works incorporating oriental elements, could be reversed.⁴⁹ The truth may be that on occasion an artist of either the Urartian or Scythian school could imitate a motive from the other, but it seems unlikely that Scythian artists could have been responsible for the mixed Assyrianizing ornaments from Ziwiyé, which despite some Scythian elements are overwhelmingly oriental in character.

The general points of comparison between Urartian art and that of Ziwiyé just outlined provide the basis for our conclusion that the Oriental Institute fragment and the other ornaments of its class are products of an Urartian tradition of metal working. This is an assumption that can only be provisional, to be corroborated or disproved as additional evidence appears.

In closing a few words should be said concerning the probable connections of the Ziwiyé materials with the art of another Iranian people who were closely related to the Scythians. Unlike the Scythians, however, the Medes settled permanently in Iran, and the artists of the Median kingdom are more likely to have assimilated oriental art thoroughly than the Scythians. Median art has long been a problem, for it is not yet represented by any well-authenticated corpus of material. Now,

⁴⁹ Cf. Herzfeld's comment on the Urartian character of the Melgunov find (*Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, VIII [1937]), 135, n. 1.

however, objects are beginning to appear that do not fit completely into well-known categories. A gold cup in the Cincinnati Art Museum is characterized by a highly ornamentalized animal style closely related to Achaemenid work but possesses also links with objects from Ziwiye.⁵⁰ Such an object corresponds to what we would now expect Median artists, who must have been familiar with the Assyrianizing styles of adjacent areas, to produce. The Medes may well prove to have possessed an artistic style of their own, one distinct from the Assyrianizing tradition found at Ziwiye and from Achaemenid art but forming a link between them.

⁵⁰ *The Cincinnati Art Museum Bulletin*, V (1957), 18-19, Figs. 10-11.

The Oriental Institute's fragmentary plaque from Ziwiye has led us into a complex world of different artistic styles. Although found in the area of the Mannaeen kingdom, the plaque does not share either motives or stylistic details with a work such as the Hasanlu bowl, for which the term Mannaeen seems appropriate. Rather the available evidence suggests that our plaque represents one type of Urartian goldwork. Such Assyrianizing works as ours must have played a significant role in the transmission of Mesopotamian art to the Scyths, to the Medes, and, through them, also to the Persians.

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